



END ILLEGAL SUBMARINE WAR OR BREAK, WILSON TELLS BERLIN

"Unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether."

CONGRESS STANDS BACK OF PRESIDENT'S DEMAND

Some Criticise Delay,
but Only Few Op-
pose Stand.

T. R. CENSURES WILSON DELAY

MANN CALLS HIM
'HATER OF DUTCH'

Nation Is in Dilemma
Whether Germany
Yields or Not.

Demand on Berlin Not Ex-
pected to Precipitate
Hostilities.

(From The Tribune Bureau.)

Washington, April 19.—Congress will support President Wilson in the firm stand toward Germany assumed by him in his message to-day, and in the note dispatched last night.

Among a large element of both houses the only complaint is that it took eleven months following the Lusitania Massacre to force the President into this position.

There was naturally much dissatisfaction over his message among a minority in both parties who have been playing strongly toward the hypen vote. For instance, Republican Floor Leader James R. Mann, of Chicago, denounced the address as "hypocritical" and asserted the President was a "Scotch Presbyterian, who hates the Dutch."

Strongly against this attitude, a Republican Senator expressed regret that it had taken the President so long to make up his mind to be firm with Germany, which view was shared by many Republicans and Democrats in both houses.

Some Aggrieved by Procedure.

A considerable number felt aggrieved at the President's action, in which they will support him, but because, as Senator Bankhead, of Alabama, put it, "it would have been more interesting if the President had told Congress about his problem before he sent the note to Germany."

As a matter of fact, the subject matter of the President's speech and the ultimatum laid down in Germany in the note had percolated generally among the members of both houses when the President began his address. At 10 o'clock, three hours before the President went to the Capitol, he read the note and his message to Congress to the chairman and ranking Republican members of the Senate and House Foreign Affairs committees, Senators Stone and Lodge and Representatives Flood and Cooper. On their return to the Capitol they told their colleagues the nature of the message, and the news quickly spread.

No criticism of the message was given to the President by any of the Senators or Representatives who called at the White House. As a matter of fact, it would be pretty nearly impossible for these particular four men to have agreed upon any question affecting relations between the United States and Germany.

Senator Stone, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, favored warning Americans off armed

Germany's accession to the latest demands of President Wilson would be proof positive, Colonel Roosevelt declared yesterday, that the same concession could have been obtained when the "strict accountability" note was sent; Germany's refusal would find the United States as impotent to make good its threat as it was fourteen months ago.

"Fourteen months ago," said Colonel Roosevelt, "the President's 'strict accountability' note to Germany meant, if it meant anything, at least what the present note says. Unfortunately, the President's actions in Mexico and as regards other matters had been such that Germany did not believe the note meant anything, and acted accordingly, and the President's repeated notes since then, interspersed as they were with speeches and statements such as that of being too proud to fight did not remove the impression."

Ship After Ship Sunk.

"During these fourteen months ship after ship has been sunk and many thousands of lives of non-combatants, including many hundreds of women and children, have been lost."

"If Germany now does as the President demands, it will be proof positive that if he had chosen to take the proper position at the time of the strict accountability note the lives of these women and children and other non-combatants would have been saved and the causes of friction with Germany would have been removed."

"If, on the other hand, Germany does not do as requested, it is well to remember that such a note as the strict accountability note fourteen months ago is unparadonable, unless it is backed up by the deeds to make the words good. If it was meant to be taken seriously and to get results, it should have been accompanied by immediate and thoroughgoing preparedness, whereas, as a matter of fact, we are not now stronger by a man or a rifle or a boat or a gun. Of the small amount of ammunition we have manufactured a part was furnished to the Villistas, who used it against our troops, and some has been furnished to the Carranzistas, who have likewise used it against our troops."

Points to His Own Book.

"Every one of these matters I discussed at the time, and what I have said is to be found in my book, 'Fear God and Take Your Own Part.'"

"I can only repeat what I there said, 'whereas' courtesy combined with resolute insistence on one's rights tends to produce peace, a policy of weak submission to wrong produces a long succession of injuries which must be submitted to, and this leaves a condition of exasperation far more dangerous to peace than if there had been at the outset courageous insistence upon one's rights."

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Text of Wilson's Note to Berlin

WASHINGTON, April 19.—The full text of the note to Berlin, addressed to Ambassador Gerard, follows:

You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24, last, wrecked the French steamship *Sussex* in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to Your Excellency:

Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex*, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The *Sussex* had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel, and was not following the route taken by troopships or supply ships. About eighty of her passengers, non-combatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

A careful, detailed and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender, and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of Your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed.

The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted not alone from the attack on the *Sussex*, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelve months and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities and destinations.

If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had wilfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government.

But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of non-combatants at sea could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing.

The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity

and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraint upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board.

Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month, until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government, as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue.

Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

LANSING.

ANOTHER UNLAWFUL ACT MEANS INSTANT RUPTURE

Outcome Now Rests Entirely with
Germany; No Room for Debate,
Washington Belief.

BERLIN MUST ABANDON ATTACKS ON COMMERCE

Even Berlin Disclaimer Proves *Sussex* Was
Torpedoed, Says Appendix to Note
Reviewing Evidence.

(From The Tribune Bureau.)

Washington, April 19.—One more illegal attack on any ship, belligerent or neutral, whether Americans are aboard or not, after Germany has had time to transmit new orders to her submarine commanders, will mean the breaking of all relations—this is Washington's view to-night of the President's address to-day to Congress and note to Berlin.

Whether the break comes or not depends on Germany, officials insist. It has ceased to be a question of words, and becomes one of deeds. Comment in the Capitol following the President's address shows that he will have the support of Congress in the course he has mapped out.

Germans here in close touch with Berlin declare there will be no break—that Germany will meet the President's demands. In Administration circles there is far less optimism, though many Senators and Representatives still believe that the break will be avoided, some counting on Germany's concessions and some on a moderate interpretation of the statements made in the note and address.

The note and address, it is agreed on all sides, are far stronger and more definite than anything the President has previously said on the subject. They are practically identical, and lawyers point out that they narrow the whole debate down to one issue—what Germany does.

SAY BERLIN WILL YIELD

Germans in Capital
Think Demands Will
Be Granted.

(From The Tribune Bureau.)

Washington, April 19.—"Germany will meet the demands made in the President's note," it was stated to-night by an official in close touch with the German Embassy, "though she believes the United States is not justified in making them."

The German view here is that the note merely demands that Germany make her submarine policy conform to the accepted principles of international law, and not that she abandon submarine warfare altogether. This, it is urged, is all that the President could possibly ask, and this Germany is willing to do.

Count von Bernstorff sent to Berlin to-night a long dispatch interpreting the situation in Washington and making certain recommendations. He is understood to have advised his government that he believed the United States meant just what it said in its submarine note and that something would have to be done quickly if friendly relations were to continue.

The ambassador later said: "I can make no comment either upon the address or upon the communication which has been sent to my government."

Mediterranean Declaration.

However, he was authoritatively described as having advised the Berlin Foreign Office in the message sent to-night that he believed at least some such declaration as that made regarding the conduct of submarine warfare in the Mediterranean Sea should be issued immediately to cover all submarine operations.

The Mediterranean declaration was handed to Secretary Lansing by the

The questions of law, of responsibility, of disavowal and of indemnity have all been set aside, and the President has made a single demand—that submarine outrages cease. The gist of his whole position is declared to be stated in the one sentence:

"Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

No Room Left for Debate.

This, officials point out, is an ultimatum in all but that it fails to name a definite time limit.

It states what must be done, and what will follow if the demand is disregarded. It does not leave room for debate.

Whether a break will come, Germans here say, depends on the exact meaning of this passage, and they see in it a way out of the crisis without serious humiliation to either nation. But Administration officials see in the passage a meaning very different from that put on it by the Germans.

"The note means that Germany must declare she has abandoned the use of submarines against commerce," said a high authority. "Those methods were adopted in reprisal against Britain, and we believe we have a right to use them, but we are willing to give them up rather than break with the United States. We are willing to conduct our

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Police Ready, but Expect No Disturbances Here

Detectives Rushed to Guard Croton Reservoir and Mount
Kisco Citizens Join in Patrolling Waterworks—Woods
Denies Plot Menacing City's Supply.

Whatever the local outcome of Mr. Wilson's latest German note may be, the New York police are prepared to deal with it, though they expect no unusual demand for their services.

Not a single possibility of trouble has been overlooked at Police Headquarters. Police Commissioner Woods has drilled his men thoroughly.

In every precinct throughout the city yesterday police captains warned their men, before they went off duty, to see that their card systems were up to date.

floor on which every man in the department lives. One of them is filed in Headquarters. The other is in the hands of the captain in whose precinct the policeman has his home. A general alarm flashed to each precinct station of the city would be relayed at once to the home of every man on the force. In an hour the entire Police Department could be mobilized ready for trouble.

"Don't leave your home for any length of time," was the substance of the instruction given out at every police station yesterday. "If you have to

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